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PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

191 THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

101 In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire north-
131 western part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

221 Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the
[226] spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring
[262] and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of
[300] their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer,
[324] antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came to-
[621] gether in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit
[648] or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall
[527] and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance move-
ments would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanis-
[155] tic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

991 Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among
755 the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those
754 suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among
756 most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful
182 as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

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has resulted from accepting the ways of the white man, and from the lack of faith in the present generation. Even the shamans no longer have the old confidence in their powers.

ACQUIRING OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

"Power" which enables a shaman to cure the sick may come to a person of either sex. It is never acquired at puberty. Any mature man or woman may become a shaman. Power does not come during the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, or at the birth of a child. The power usually comes unsought, most commonly in dreams. But it may be inherited, or it may be sought through visionary experience in caves.

Unsought dreams.—When animals such as an eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear, mountain sheep, or snake, come to a person a number of times in a dream, he knows that he is to become a shaman.

A man dreams that a deer, eagle, or bear comes after him. The animal tells him that he is to be a doctor. The first time a man dreams this way he does not believe it. Then he dreams that way some more and he gets the things the spirit told him to get [eagle feathers, wild tobacco, stone pipe, rattle made from the ear of a deer or from the deer's dew claws]. Then he learns to be a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him.

A person who has been visited in dreams by one of these spirits must obey the instructions given him or serious illness will result. If he continues to ignore his spirit or power he will die. After he has gathered the paraphernalia such as the tail feathers and down from the breast of the eagle, pipe, tobacco, and rattle, he places them in a bag made of deer, badger, or coyote skin.

When a man or woman is visited in dreams by one of the powers, sickness results. Often it is necessary to call in a shaman to interpret the dreams.

A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man here [Reno] who is still living was sick about a year and nearly died. He went into trances and then his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the place where the dead are. He dreamed that way all the time he was sick. He told how spirits of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman and finally cured him, but he almost died.

Should a man or woman be visited by spirits in dreams and not wish to be a shaman the dreams might be disregarded for a few times, but when a shaman is called for illness resulting therefrom he will tell the dreamer to do as the power instructed him in the dream. Then if the feathers and other

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two husbands, the wife, and her parents lived together harmoniously in the usual one-roomed house. As with the much more frequent polygynous marriages there seems to have been no outward manifestations of sexual jealousy.

Under present conditions it is impossible to get an accurate idea of the frequency of polyandrous marriages. There can be no doubt, however, from the recorded material that polyandry was not a common practice. Certainly, it has had no observable influence on kinship terms such as has been noted by Dr Steward.[2] Nevertheless, such marriages were socially recognized as legitimate unions. It is possible that the Paviotso learned the practice from their eastern neighbors, the Shoshoni, for several informants were acquainted with the Shoshoni custom of polyandry.

It is difficult to see in the Paviotso institution of polyandry any organic connection with economic factors. Marriage involves no exchange of property, and women in their activities as providers of wild vegetable food have an economic role as important as that of men. Moreover, groves of pine trees, the only form of property to be inherited, belong to the family. As there is no fixed line of descent for such property, use is the more important factor in determining ownership.

There can be no doubt that, as Dr Steward has indicated with the Shoshoni,[3] Paviotso polyandry is linked with the levirate. On the other hand, the Paviotso, unlike the Shoshoni, do not practice any form of preferential mating. Although Dr Steward holds that there is no excess of marriageable males to account for the development of the Shoshoni practice,[4] it is quite likely that among the Paviotso the relatively frequent occurrence of polygynous marriages, in some cases involving as many as four wives to a man, may have resulted in an occasional shortage of available females. Under these circumstances the extension of the privileges of brothers, usually recognized only at the death of one, while both are living, then becomes intelligible. Given these two conditions, the relatively infrequent practice of polyandry may have developed indigenously among the Paviotso or, as may appear more likely to the diffusionist, the practice was copied from the neighboring Shoshoni, where it seems to have occurred more frequently and to have exerted greater influence on such aspects of the social life as the kinship system.

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MAKING A TULE AND CATTAIL BOAT

124 396 In order to secure a tule boat for the Nevada State Museum, the author arranged to have one made by Jimmie and Wezzie George, Paviotsos of the Toedokado Band of Stillwater, Nevada. The boat was built in a marshy area north of Stillwater known locally as Dutch Bill.

Jimmie George and Sam Dick, Wezzie's father, made boats when they were young. Hammy Kent, on whose property the boat was made, said that as a boy (around 1920) he had seen many such boats pulled out on the banks of the Still- [182] water marshes to dry. Since that time boat making has been abandoned and they are never seen today.

396 Jimmie had gone to Dutch Bill the day before to gather the tules. The car could not be driven close to the tule piles so he and Wezzie carried them on their backs [+82] in the old fashioned way to the area where they planned to cut and soak the cattails.

Jimmie cut the cattails and tied them into large bunches. When he had collected enough of them, he pushed them under water with a bucket. Soaking the cattails toughens them. He explained that dry cattails and tules are much stronger than the green plants. For this reason boats were always made during the winter.

396 283 The boats were made of two large bundles of tules lashed together with ropes of twisted cattails. Cattails were used to make the ropes because, though tules are round and pithy and therefore very bouyant, they have no strength. Two bunches of cattails were used to make one rope. The tips of the two bunches were placed in opposite directions and the bunches twisted together. The length of the rope was determined by the length of the overlap measuring from the butt ends. When a quantity of ropes had been made, a large bundle of tules was piled up and the ropes twisted around the bundle to tie it together. To secure the tips the ropes were not knotted but the ends were twisted together and tucked into the tules. After the first bundle was tied Jimmie and Wezzie sorted out the cattails which would [521] make good ropes to tie the second bundle and began to twist them into another [223] set of ropes. While they were working, a pair of noisy ducks brought on a burst [825] of conversation. Wezzie said that when the wind blows the ducks fly a lot and that was the time when her father hunted them. He would hide among the reeds in the marsh and shoot them as they flew overhead. When it is warm and not windy, the ducks are lazy, just as people are. Then they sit in one place all day and do not fly. When the ropes had been prepared, Wezzie helped Jimmie tie the second bundle of tules. Each bundle was tied in five different places.

396 Next the tips of the two tule bundles were tied together. Wezzie and Jimmie drew up the prow of the boat and while Wezzie held it, Jimmie tied it. With a knife Jimmie trimmed off the uneven lengths of tules from the prow. Then Wezzie waited by the boat while Jimmie gathered more cattails. Jimmie used a manila rope to tie the stern of the boat. Manila rope slips more easily than cattails, thereby permitting a tighter tie. When the stern was tied snugly he then replaced the manila rope with a cattail one. After it was tied he trimmed the stern of the boat to make it round. When questioned, Jimmie said he had never seen a boat pointed on both ends.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
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Oregon were known to the Nevada Paviotso only through their Surprise Valley friends. To the east, the Paviotso had contacts solely with their immediate neighbors, the Western Shoshoni. Their relations with these people, however, were never so intimate and friendly as with the Northern Paiute of California. The Paviotso claim that the Bannock once were associated with them, but that these people moved east in search of the buffalo. It is doubtful whether the Paviotso and Bannock were in communication with each other in the period immediately preceding white occupation. The Southern Paiute, the Ute groups, and other Shoshonean peoples of the Basin were not known to the Paviotso.

The Paviotso have a culture which is usually regarded as Great Basin, but our present knowledge of this region is far too scanty to enable us to state just how typical of Basin culture are Paviotso customs. In their economic life, the wild products afforded by the habitat are utilized. Hunting, fishing, and gathering wild seeds and roots provide the food supply. Houses are simple but well-constructed, mat-covered and dome-shaped. Before the recent introduction of the Plains type of garments, clothing was negligible—a breechclout for men, a single apron in front or a double one front and back for the women, supplemented in the case of both sexes by woven skin robes and moccasins.

The social, political, and religious phases of Paviotso culture are likewise simple. The family is the basic unit in the social, as well as the economic, life. The five Paviotso bands are loose, localized, named groups with head-men or chiefs who have only advisory functions. Ceremonial performances are meager and mostly confined to shamanistic curing.

A great deal of the Paviotso culture has disappeared under reservation conditions. This is particularly true of economic life and material culture. Nevertheless, many social customs and religious beliefs and practices persist. Shamans are still common, and curing performances are frequent. Consequently, it has been possible to obtain accounts of a living religion from both shamans and laymen.

A brief statement on the sources of the material presented here may give some notion both of the value of these data as a basis for an accurate picture of the Paviotso complex and of their use-

224 The "kind of drum" which is described is
[534] but an elaborately constructed rasp.[24] The skin stuffed with grass around which cord is wound serves as a resonator when the rasp is rubbed with a stick.

One of Lowie's informants describes a drive lasting three days.
[534] The shaman and two assistants wear antelope-heads and paint themselves for a dance. A notched stick is rasped for music. During the ceremony, a shaman goes into a trance and imitates the call of the antelope. When the antelope are surrounded, two or three antelope are killed first and given to the shaman and his assistants.[25]

224 It is clear that the antelope shaman's performance has an im-
756 portant place in the shamanistic complex of the Paviotso. But as has been pointed out, the charming of game through the exercise of the shaman's power is confined entirely to the antelope-drive. The plan of procedure is highly variable, but the basic belief in the control of the antelope by supernatural power is clear. Antelope-charming, then, is the one well-recognized function of the shaman which is not a part of the all-pervading belief in curing. In fact, it is the only important shamanistic performance of the Paviotso that is not heavily charged with beliefs about the cause and control of disease.

The Position of the Shaman in the Social Order

756 At this late date, an assessment of the position of the shaman in Paviotso society is difficult. The social disintegration that has resulted from reservation life has destroyed much of the shaman's
[122] social influence and prestige. Consequently his part in the social fabric and in the daily life of aboriginal times can at best only be inferred.

756 There can be no doubt that the shaman was formerly an influ-
622 ential figure; the stronger his supernatural power the greater his social prestige. Thus the influence that he exerted was by no means confined to religious affairs and activities. A comparison of his social and political authority with that of the chief is, however, difficult, for any weighting of the respective importance of these officials is strange to Paviotso thinking. Certainly, in many in-

[24] Ibid., 56.
[25] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 304-305.

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short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[5] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[6] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[7] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[8]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[9] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[5] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.
[6] Beals, 1932, 216.
[7] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.
[8] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).
[9] La Barre, 1938, 100–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

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Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

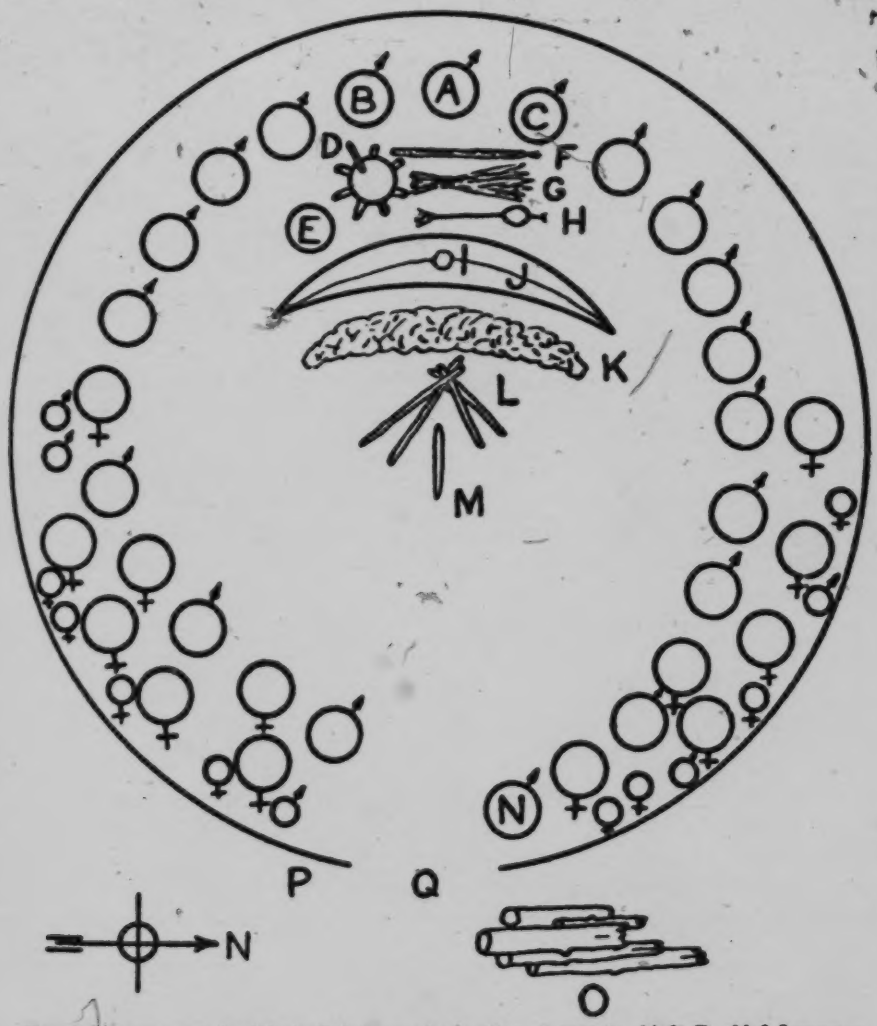

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

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The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

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of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[36] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[37]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[38] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[39]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[36] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[37] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[38] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[39] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 159), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[11] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

[11] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[a] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their uncongerted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[b] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act.[c]

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[a] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[b] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 73 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[c] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time."

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

" Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

" Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

" Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

" La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study.[a] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[b] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[c] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans.[d] Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

[a] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[b] See Appendix III for statistics.

[c] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[d] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[e] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

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complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers.

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism.[a]

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actually needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipō that they use down south."[b]

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal, only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents.[c]

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

[a] La Barre (105–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

[b] Muipō might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

[c] See Appendix III for complete statistics.

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compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[*]

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[*] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [See ref. 116, p. 123-Aw.]

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N W 177 between the opposing claims coming from outside the territory, and between the diverse interpretations based on local happenings.

*795 Since those who decided in favor of peyote and believed it to be of great worth for curing, for salvation, and for better living had no cultural, social, or psychological status in common, but were definitely representative of all elements in the population, it is evident that each reacted as an individual, for purely personal reasons. The overt, stated reasons of the converts, or of the opponents, taken alone, form a rational basis for their behavior. The facts and interpretations which individuals on each side have chosen to believe are understandable motives for their actions. Thus, peyote's introduction and its influence have been dependent on fortuitous circumstances: the proselyter's unemployment, personality, etc., and the individual's choice to believe or not believe information presented as facts. As far as our data go, this explanation seems valid; to go farther would entail an analysis of each person's entire life.

N W [182] All Washo and Northern Paiute are conscious of their position as an underprivileged minority, and appear to feel the need for stability and self-aggrandizement. Some desire physical improvement, others spiritual; all desire something. Peyotism has provided both physical and spiritual solace for the few who have believed and remained active. It is merely one of many possible means of attaining inner security. Peyotism has satisfied some for only a short time, and may prove permanent or transitory for others; but the majority have not yet and may never find in the cult the answer to their needs.

Wadátkuht

133 Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature
103 has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near
[136] the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15
[648] and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

[226] 50. Ak' wuhg^{o} ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this
[251] name. This creek was an important source for suckers which were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu. Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 Specific and detailed information concerning habitation
[182] sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain.
[177] The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still
361 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be
174 suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

Wadátkuht

POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites.

The justification for mentioning these post-contact habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained.

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd[a] ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. He was buried about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death.

The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. The Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with

Wadatkuht

757 Yerba Santa was a medicine, but its specific use was not given. Gladys had some dried and sliced bulbs, called tásip, which could be used to relieve colds. It was made into a tea and drunk, and is said to have been very vile tasting, with a peppery pitch-like flavor. Kitty recommended it very highly for certain sicknesses but found it almost too vile to take herself. There seem to have been two plants used for stopping bleeding. One called totzi tonigya', was made into hot tea and is said to have been strong. A white woman who was suffering from hemorrhages during her change in life is said to have greatly benefitted by taking this medicine. The other plant which stopped bleeding was called atsátun[a]. A [752] badly cut horse was saved when this medicine was applied in [232] a powdered form to the wounds.

There were two cures for gonorrhea. One was a small plant which grew several inches in height which was boiled into a tea and drunk instead of water. The other cure was to drink the sap (as a tea?) from the blisters found on fir trees.

[842] White paint, ibi, was used medicinally in a powdered form to produce sterility in both men and women. An earache was cured by placing warm baby urine in the ear. A toothache was cured by placing warm baby excrement on the afflicted tooth. When eyelids felt granular, blades of rye grass were used to scrape the under surface to remove the granules.

764 Mortuary Customs. Little direct information could be obtained with respect to mortuary customs, possibly because ●[182] the old pattern was early disrupted, and possibly because [124] of a natural reticence to talk about the subject on the part of the informants. Both cremations and flexed burials have been noted archaeologically.

766 Malevolent doctors (poisoners) were always burned after death and the ashes left lying where the burning took place. Helen Joaquin told of a suspected poisoner being burned to [683] death while he lay too ill to escape. She also told of two other doctors, a man and his wife, who were "knocked in the head" and then burned.

When a shaman died all of his doctoring regalia and equipment was buried with him. These things had a curse put on them, as a general rule, by the dying doctor so that no other Indian dared touch or use them. Valuables such as baskets, beadwork and the like were buried with the body. The other belongings not put into the grave were burned.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
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DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

N W 121

The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

N W 121 182

It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

N W 121

One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

N W 121 177

The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

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The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 22 [177] At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than 161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq. 132 mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and 161 Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a lim- 22 iting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that 182 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the maximum food supply.

224 [226] [222] I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years. [476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization be- [571] cause the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 22 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, [825] [771] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was [36] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, [177] or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

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History and Ecology

It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic ties.

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The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such distribution.

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Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah (Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

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Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A. D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

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Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

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they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them.

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The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations.

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As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.)

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In the years subsequent to 1870 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

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It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.